/219/

II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Cainguá tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and
finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (bona) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians,
which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are
missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned
carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only
by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes
oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two
egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the
down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest,
cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds
are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem
consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which
hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar
claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás
regard this as essential.

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I
shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax.
Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder
and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain
money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization.
They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of
wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages
Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on
Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from
him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he
engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a).
The representations of the two figures actually resemble a
monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much
too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclu-
sively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about
three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him.
A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the
same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first
one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the
figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III.
Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and
Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/223 cont./
532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of
the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman
is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow
bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music
and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a
radio. The rattle is beginning [illegible] fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their
old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. *Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have* gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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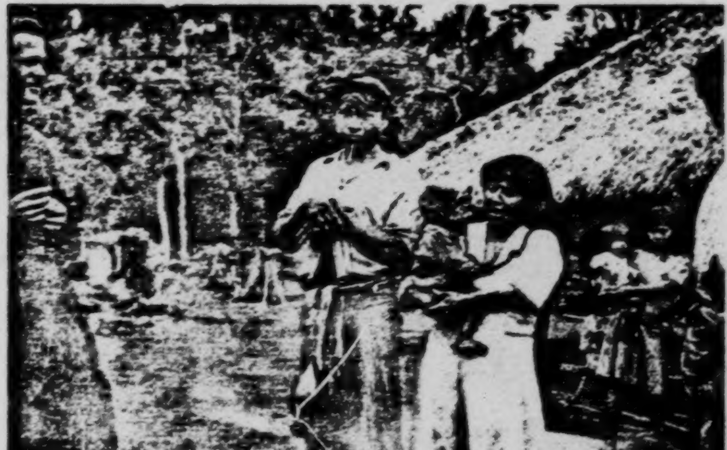

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another
village and from other people with that reported to me by
Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and,
on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the
Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[191] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example,
with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies
that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the
Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
[535] from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
[534] tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[778] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modem influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
778 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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/232/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that Ie
539 rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder
brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song Ie = I, mine,
takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of
the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my
elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure,
m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure,
m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure,
m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý,
to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body
[796] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed
to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this
god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the
deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is
generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
• [178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly wide-
796 spread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
539 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:
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/232 cont./

796 "Hoěri yahá, hoěri yahá, še resá.
539 Nhanderykeý mbaraká še resá,
533 Nhanderykeý ha džyroký še resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka še resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá še resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá še resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[778] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to
him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in
connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he
combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabit-
ants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid
beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash dis-
played with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 [237] [533] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

[342] [291] [535] [574] [576]

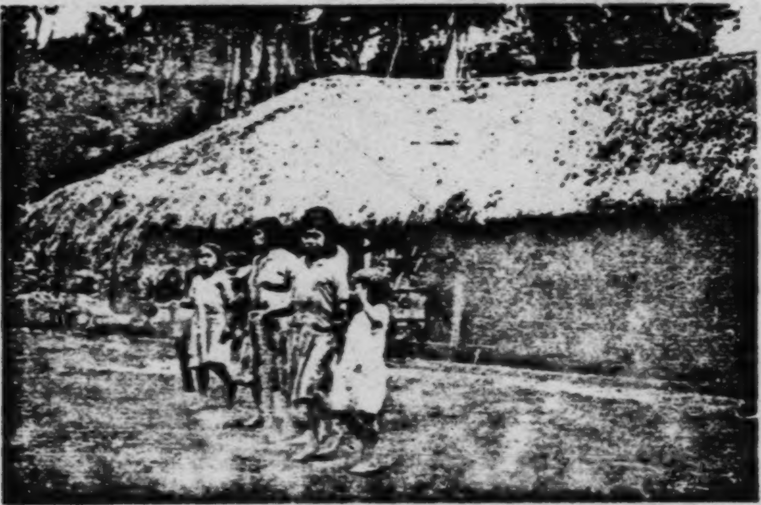

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

● [778] [784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

/233 cont./
796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/

[539] "Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[198] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

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/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return migration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/10 cont./

178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture,
[101] particularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal
[114] brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the
[101] Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbüá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirü, Ñaneirü ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apüteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetü /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those
that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the
Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes:
[648] Tañiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly
existed at Bananal.

621 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a
● 178 patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-
solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among
[166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with
phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact
621 and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal
162 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos
166 married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port.
fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of
the same year there were only nine families, among which were
distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9
mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some
other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en-
tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for
[768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because
of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his
[755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-
ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently
[464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some
fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The
182 number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo
[563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the
community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed
marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the com-
munity tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work
parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations fre-
quented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation
proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.
621 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having
433

/16 cont./

361 **Dourados** (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league
from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní --
of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182
of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of
the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals,
77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly
as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[797] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through
the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in
the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend
assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] **Panambi**, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[162] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to
dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the
Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost
totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at
Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[361] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[166] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. --
[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./
000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo
population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise
to a hybrid Ibero-native culture *sui generis*, meriting careful
anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity
of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the
one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character,
on the other.

● 178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained
Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects.
Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the
European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the differ-
ent subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with
regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other
sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[797] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the
population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some
time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[177] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese
or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extrac-
tive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní
hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the
number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing
some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with
modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of
the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for
the study of the consequences of situations of contact between
American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type.
No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four
centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at
once that certain domains of their culture appear completely
open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to
the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction
of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic
contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference
to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning
the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the
tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict,
on the basis of previous experience between the traditional
solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that
become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day
Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred
individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the
size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The
[361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact
with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages
are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive
[61] basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred
[554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various
local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as
nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a
religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among
the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a
unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious
celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com-
182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
[177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with
foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the
[563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the
[178] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious
ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the
forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/27 cont./
304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal
mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá,
"pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule
the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[789] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me
about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless
I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair,
[192] divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two
knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape
of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division
disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput.
The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two
long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the
Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of
Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with
rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already
adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some
/28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional
hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown
is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others,
"more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women
[147] have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[482] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[164]

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361 1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in
which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in com-
bination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible,
in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the coun-
try. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations
of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one
another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it
[192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one
considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer,
361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of
621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the
point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the
group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more
religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite
independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of
cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/
under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family
596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re-
● 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter
several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and
even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová
178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small
184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families.
592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis-
621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained
either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial
mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process
of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the
interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and produc-
tive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family
is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transforma-
tion of the economy.

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the inclement [824] weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, 178 it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/34 cont./

341 342 177 From the architectural point of view, there are two essential characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. [192] Finally, the namara (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 177 178 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. [596] It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more or less close to one another. [535] For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/: but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/38 cont./
342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandúroga
345 (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in
fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to
those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having
two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those
of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception
there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall
and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo,
more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing
a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or
semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a
[317] partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoçá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó,
and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made
with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of
the tribe.

● 178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
177 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional
techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics
disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and
weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional
fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that
on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility
of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic antiacculturative
manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally,
the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní
to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to
interact.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter
months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the
Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of
Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not
been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who
wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and
other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys.
Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for
their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the
head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in
shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper
part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in
a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left,
turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior
part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains
by way of decoration.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the kïlákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
[283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tïïkï) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavÿhaguẽ. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
778 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paí Vitaliano,
178 who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest
778 in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with
other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old
paí dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great
similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of
the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers
of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of
Jesuit times?

/42 cont./

291 yerba maté (1).

[482] [147] [171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the *tupái* and the *váta*. The *tupái*, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's *txiripá*, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with *txumbé*, but it [286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of [192] industrial origin. The *váta* (from "*bata*"? /Port. *bata*, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The *ponchito* and the *txiripá* could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the *typói*, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. *Tupái* and *typói* are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the *txumbé* and, rarely, the *txiripá*, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The *ponchito*, however, seems always to have

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life
433 without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence
178 is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of
224 environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some
[226] groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at
their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] 1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV
[182] appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the
ecological situation between the Indians and the
civilized ones is becoming such that the former
not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land
241 to build their modest little clearings. Take the
433 case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of
177 the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
182 and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few
648 years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up
to be distributed to colonists sent to the region.
On the other side of the border the Guaraní have
the misfortune to find themselves in the territory
considered very good for the expansion of coffee
cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras
para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of
lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence,
the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite
well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
181 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
156 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of
433 production and consumption, and, in the second place, the
mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given
to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity
of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive in-
dividualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the
corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the
notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich
man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is
certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in
primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life
the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same
time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary
predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, in-
cluding the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic
activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of cere-
monies for contact with the supernatural and control of the per-
sonal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party;
see below, p. 66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the
departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon
-- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of [178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") [101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ guí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva. [824] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands: add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ: furthermore, ký ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415) of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Cainguá (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192) of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbũá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbũá, to be sure, manufacture
[192) cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

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[192) Among the Mbũá almost everybody smokes, including very young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette, fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

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[192]
[178]

Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees), is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182]
[422]
economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow.
As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never
used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a
basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a
crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized.
[462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast
[252] the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby,
[192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield
with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó
last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations
in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private
property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic
collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to
a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though
he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement
greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street
[262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another
[192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on
[432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the
other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the
individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered
[114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced
on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could
and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the
blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners
of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably
[224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when
they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting)
[178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient
institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/57 cont./

423 Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for
[171] all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them.
Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession"
of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who
considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where
they had lived many years earlier.

476 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization
178 of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-
177 cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some
among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic,
476 and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable
829 to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,
476 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already
revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own
171 denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová),
puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá
I was given the name añomoóña as the designation for mutirão.
Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of
clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian
tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./
This is what is understood, for instance,
from the description given by Max Schmidt,
1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind,
[184] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the
Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the
Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particu-
lar person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first
case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three sub-
groups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
• 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have
[654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus,
the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests,
[182] that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family.
Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases
to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open
a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his
house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did
not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later
he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food
is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this
group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the
puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius
of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one
another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/.
His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group,
helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind
rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems
178 to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation
[621] of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to
[184] replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone
[273] has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is
[182] not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/59 cont./

476 177 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

/61 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence
of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the
old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the accculturative process
/62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
181 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this trans-
433 formation does not take place without causing serious disturbances
in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 178 181 433 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist thinking is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes, instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of [156 practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only (so it seems) to be realised in an integral way from the time that the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced by another one.

177 178 43 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining money in order to come into the possession of so many things that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the regional economy. This integration takes place through activities unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surrounding environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos, hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms, baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and, finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/ activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 433 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immediate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./
178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the
institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community
(sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit
of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the
hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost
complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter
of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is
[156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal
[182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with
detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the
existence of the group.

177 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the
433 more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from correspond-
648 ing transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of
cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of
the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant,
as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest
of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being
in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system
of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of
a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want
to produce anything: they lack the necessary sense." At his post
he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual
production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the
Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive re-
sults were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba
maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at
another post the Government ordered, years ago, established
coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families;
[156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other
examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the
individual from the economic community and coming to consider
him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in
part perhaps contrary to those of the group: finally, the reluctance
000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The
notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source,
with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is
blank./

/68 cont./

857
155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1):

524
411 1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- [178] [439] In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce: many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

857
155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The [524] Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the
development of the child, his interference is directed almost
[846] exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The
restrictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before
that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during
789 childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its
neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and
probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each
leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the
original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to
learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold
178 morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was
a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong": obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira"
used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are
constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral
856 individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative
treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already
finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak,
embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force
the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical
remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the
formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní
of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the
information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/*71 cont.*/

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
[192] which the former called *mangá* and the latter *mbopé*. At
[179] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
cup/, with a caraguatá string: the only denomination they
[192] gave the object was *trompo*, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or *gude* /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita: since they had no marbles, the children used macaûba
fruits (*mbokadjá*).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. *violão*/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /*72*/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
● [178] except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the ini-
tiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases
it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father,
who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the
girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it
is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the
marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who
is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion
in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[594] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of
Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically
incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of
Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his
own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning
the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or
paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion
of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider
it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny
the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between
parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the
[184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden,
perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my
[115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to
marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted
to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Although
601 in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified
593 with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them
is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings
either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his
brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --
a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with
respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old
avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there
was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups,
except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for
marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably
[115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an
[178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the
[829] new generation already "does not know the language straight"
and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow
countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times
no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./
585 no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the
178 Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of
[581] the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the
[304] same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a
[829] marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or
paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão
of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married
man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman
the girl, they were joined and they were considered married.
Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I
have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably
originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs
the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents"
of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that
today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal
manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the
claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a mar-
178 riage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least
273 in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the
574 bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is in-
[177] vited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who
[535] appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not
[431] given to the bride and groom.

A curious combination of traditional elements with others
585 of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá.
182 It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become inte-
[177] grated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved
characteristics that would permit such integration. The institu-
tion of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is
concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial
584 techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the
[585] description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement:
[114] There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the
[115] girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for
the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/77 cont./

585 I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú
• 178 and according to the rites of the native religion in any other
[184] village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already
[114] mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the
[624] task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the
[648] authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 An index of the social disorganization of the present-day
[182] Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability
[581] of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to
837 have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery,
[586] both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

/78 cont./
837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after re-
sisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, per-
haps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[198] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situa-
tion is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female,
usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clear-
ing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in
which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mis-
treat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch
as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of
someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass
the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between
spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic
incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently
decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman,
it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
586 tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family.
And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no
longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the
elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the
great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise,
there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly
since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among
the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family,
on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal
authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/79 cont./
178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambi), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself
abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the pro-
tection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of
the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the
village, and the children grow up under the protection of the
mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal
relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation,
incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the
Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some
time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the
married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus
the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the
loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally
favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the
great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be
superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there
are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/
that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the
inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a con-
sistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition
of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbũá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound
[178] by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

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415
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/83 cont./

> also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a 462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista [184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production [178] for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

[184] Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the [577] Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

/87 cont./
846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the
father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as
well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that
hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret
his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally
different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with
reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it
among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect
in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby,
but simply its magical security and the health of the child.
Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to
social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much
less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function
of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within
the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to
repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would
be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the
first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that
would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in
the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní
there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine
post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children
come from the father and female children from the mother, I
have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the
paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguard[illegible]/ after
the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/88 cont./

846 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for
178 the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars at-
tacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And
there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the
masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages,
particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new
conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the new-
born baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should ex-
tend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord,
while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than
two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty
days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore
should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual."
It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound
[184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the
latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá,
who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, par-
784 ticularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron
tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with
scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she
does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does
not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest --
is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the
odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list
846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may
not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/,
pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not
use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca;
drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain
/89/ informants made different enumerations, considering danger-
ous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless.
Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from
hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the *odjépotá*
825 of the *anta*, which refers to the *resguardo* of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.

[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the *odjépotá* so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal *resguardo*, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
[171] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

P

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, although
182 with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
181 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
868 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
881 only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ naturally
"she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and supernatural
diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial ornament),
178 nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is probable
[301] that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they represent
Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./
881
178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masçuline adolescence.
Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy,
881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not
825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated
in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar,
etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the
boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo
of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of animals
[868] considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn
the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks
in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not
304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general.
[184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-sorcerer,
[178] some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish
the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying
that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn
[824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not
necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can
perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred,
however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old)
existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any
person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the
[752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú,
and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coré/ oil (ytxótxim).
[278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously
[115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of
[868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has
been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills --
so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of
881 Pablo Vera of Yroỹsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino
867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series
577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education").
[115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do
not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying
the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community
in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
(184) the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not
only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Never-
theless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration
(called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is
doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were
obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period,
the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between
8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring vil-
lages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting
of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to
be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than
twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there
are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially
certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/99 cont./

756 Although the religious chief in general also exercises the
[622] functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs,
[114] in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew
756 no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).
[178]

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and
623 other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may
178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbũá of eastern
[114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to
[624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
178 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
[114] tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
[624] munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
[114] the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
[623] in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/111 cont./

774 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

> 3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poỹdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
[833] belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[779] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need
for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary
simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the
[776] woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too,
may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a
boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he
came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The
male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade
even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 171 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

The relations that the divine part of the soul of the de-
[776] ceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[771] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion
of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered
with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other
hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication
(even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena
do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they
would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many
leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguêry that the
Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some
distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/136 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
[768] other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact,
must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one 764 [114] could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. 764 178 [782] Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý mará eý, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be [773] made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

/138 cont./

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5. The direction of the religious acculturation

177 There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771 177 178 184 It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbüá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771 177 178 /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. [797] The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moãtendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Arariba I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the
851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/140 cont./
563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the
children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile,
as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate
into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple
gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where
the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles
and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent
to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[082] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-
operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the
"tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the
deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal,
Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death,
the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente,
had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30
cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part
from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a
glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity.
There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/140 cont./

771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
• 178 [159] bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[441] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

/142 cont./

771 776 177 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image: nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 177 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 783 177 ●178 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least of little importance in the body of the collective representations of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot reach him." [829] And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity,
resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according
to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the
present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral
guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it
meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore,
there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the
analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites
and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 *post mortem* punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no
motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True,
the *anguêry*, into which the *atsýyguá* is transformed, is unhappy;
but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability,
it is not properly the *person* of the deceased. The latter, represented by the *ayvúkuê*, finds its redemption (and it is around
the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates)
through rebirth or, in definitive form, through *aguydjê*, i.e., the
journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability,
tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of
the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that
in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to
add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much
go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem
from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not
so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without
Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
776 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
869 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
784 soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
776 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
177 has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/144 cont./
771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different
attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example:
[669] In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous attempts
829 at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies.
Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a ñemongaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/145 cont./
771 refrained from having a porahẽi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piẽta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kãyová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
[574] pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová, among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices, as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráĺdjá, protector spirit, is identified with the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

> 20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãikuĩ ʃ, with a string of pindó ryvʃ (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ʃ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ʃ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[776] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
• [178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ʃ would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaranʃ history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise
heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are
free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbüá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[756] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
● [178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the
Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

Because of the diversity of historical situations through which
[128] the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to
study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil,
because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as
the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the
main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but
that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but
I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly
from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural
182 elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was
unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the
place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that
the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among
them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that,
in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the
path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykey,
● 178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The
present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the
Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended
decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by
analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live
near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there
no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements,
nevertheless continues to exist.

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they
passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré.
The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die
there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not
hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that
it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle."
But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
• 178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems
no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time,
as we have seen, the Mbũá who came from Paraguay in 1946.
Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their
mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with
the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that
God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven."
Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he
was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to
go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we
shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only
one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one,
the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of
Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While
the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly
speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá)
and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or
yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú,
assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was
all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbũá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy miní, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narĩ (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguerekó (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The
● [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration.
[181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less de-
772 sirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living
186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbũá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/171 cont./

771 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the re-
•178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends
to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to
the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which
[182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural
disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the
economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the
normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected be-
cause of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporĩ, the "beauti-
ful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will
send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey
there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of
Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The
latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build
their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there,
no death. And there they will find alive their deceased compan-
ions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to
grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing
but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference
there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
[177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
[797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re-
membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from
Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many
167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
[184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at
the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling
in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity
to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado
they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they be-
lieve, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the
Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But
their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 • 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. [796 Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully
[167] undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjê, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction.
They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
829 of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however,
[578] the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
[756] reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaranſ finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaranſ conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep
[177] religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts.
[184] One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

77 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
● 178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and
poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities
result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight
toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./
It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among
these manifestations the considerable consumption
of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day
Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger
177 sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
182 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
733 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages
of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least,
the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns
of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá
of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay
in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of
my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice,
which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk
about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273 substitute motivation for the objectives dictated
182 by the culture and whose realization has become
177 utopian by virtue of the transformations arising
from cultural contacts.

77 and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The
177 notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./
• 178
182

/179/ Conclusion

772 Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the
182 acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed
128 facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177 All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far
182 as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

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FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapüi* at Taquapari. Log tanks for *cãui'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cãui'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

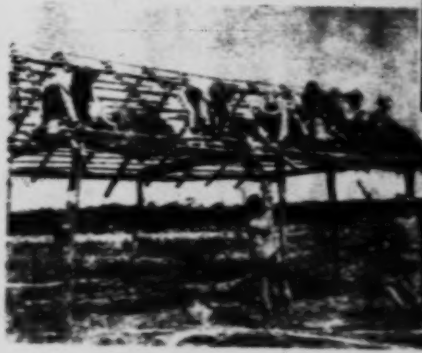

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapüi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*ajutório*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

• 178

[For data on socio-cultural trends, passim, see category 116, pp. 25, 62-92 and 124-132.]

175 /31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
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[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
(near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
648 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
657 tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside
178 of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
361 speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
[161] counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain
648 a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship
197 terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya: /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her
arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The
person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a ham-
mock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name
to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on
the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of
a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be rest-
less, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain
[551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá
names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of
[177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These
might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through
[178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any
name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult.
It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns
other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods,
planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home,
as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in con-
stant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach-
[423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small
areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property.
The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing
until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the
principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other
things as well: he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect
wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the
father's death, the boy is taught by the
paternal uncle.

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[784] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

• [178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
[262] ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
[753] be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
.178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 [178] Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a general way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 [173] The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 601 602 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 178 60 433 182 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the

/44 cont./
121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9) and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)
582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

582
604
[113] 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Cainá*
131 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo*
[300] because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24°
[178] S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[241] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who
were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient
missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez,
suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still
occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the
Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared
after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
•178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Cainguá*, who are said to be
[433] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[262] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[171] fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern
[476] *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method
in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and
[821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-
[412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation
fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised
by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Cainguá* and
the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize
are the staples. The *Cainguá* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), sev-
eral varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber
called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts,
pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
[752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium*
[824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'*
[411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
[262] their arrow shafts. The *Cainguá* are very fond of sugarcane, which is
for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau
222 consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which
are abundant in that region.

The modern *Cainguá* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild
[178] plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not
only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich
terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba, A. totai, Cocos yatay, Attalea,* and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica, Annona,* araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingud* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. [231] When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and [262] Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of *Caingud* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the [231] larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Caingud* prefer meat to any other food, their 224 main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with [262] abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingud* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have [231] dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the 226 ancient *Guarani* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast 178 used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guarani* are well provided [433] with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Colum- 231 bian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and 178 many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a 262 heritage of the ancient *Guarani.* The most popular dishes prepared with 252 maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, [178] abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingud* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingud* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, 252 dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingud* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingud* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin [178] grater—and washing the mass in water.

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[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnikov.

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve,
and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish
and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 *Caingu*á do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
824 of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingu*á have
no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve
[415] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the
ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts
dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces
of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti-
[712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with
half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ*'. Other *Caingu*á
now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with
tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-
daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft.,
[413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingu*á of Brazil still
lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50
feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a
thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[532] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
177 (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to
777 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guarani*, who lived in a harsh climate, 291
followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some 178
Cainguá groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in [177]
others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a [101]
belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper").
Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern 301
Guarani is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of 178
stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants [314]
from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk [321]
necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A [175]
few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver [172]
or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. [554]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton [171]
sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs 301
of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's [532]
necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone [237]
pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish
vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, 301
but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants 237
in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted [554]
on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather [177]
garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of [184]
human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of [824]
palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guarani*, still used by some *Cainguá* 302
groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but 178
was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of 302
genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups sub- [386]
stitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and [184]
honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, some- [531]
times applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift 825
animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though 501
they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The
Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

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[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in
large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets
are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the
midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
•[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent
containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*)
[824] fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of
Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

Weapons.—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-
411 gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*).
824 They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section,
and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each 411
end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from [824]
slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*).
The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the
Cainguá: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on
one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human [237]
bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña [824]
de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet- [857]
bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8]
The missiles are small clay pellets.

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century 175
carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon 714
has not been reported since the 17th century. [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large 62
extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 178
families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the 756
actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great [596]
Guaraní leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were [614]
shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended [175]
their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and
adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs
who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been 178
shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like 622
the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and [756]
with miracles performed on behalf of their people. [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some
stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished [554]
in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman [621]
might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of [578]
Cainguá communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick [554]
as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered [392]
as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [621]

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[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:62.

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of
their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de
Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingua* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do
682 not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the
punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his
dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a
few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the
importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth,
the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
786 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of
Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
302-303).

581 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingua* boy undergoes something of an initiation
rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult mascu-
line "ta."

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guarani*, at her first menstruation, a 178•
girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her 881
hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to
forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman.
For modern *Cainguá* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls
for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind
a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be
lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground,
scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning
her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal [756]
activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. 178
Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among 582
the *Guarani* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to 584
grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their
future parents-in-law.

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Cainguá*, but the girls remain
with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective
sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between
cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a 595
mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions
in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem [174]
to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are [582]
said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de [756]
Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence 587
is patrilocal. 622
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Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* 763
(Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He 775
sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking
their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

Among the ancient *Guarani*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, 178
his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of 152
grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground 764
from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

The ancient *Guarani* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered 178
them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz 764
de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Cainguá* bury their dead directly in
the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with
their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

Both ancient and some modern *Guarani* bury their dead in the hut,
which is immediately abandoned. The *Cainguá* of Paraguay inter the 600

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[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: ". . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodada el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short
time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Añáy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

•178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[265] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 *Art.*—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 *Games and toys.*—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[552] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatín*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
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5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some 178
Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 526

Today the *Caingua* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their 173
modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the 534
most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guarani* tribe, [562]
rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is be- (778)
lieved to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking [756]
rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who [573]
pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the [562]
cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones [727]
of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingua*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with (184)
their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingua*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic 272
of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed 178
from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingua* collect maté in the forest and prepare it [292]
in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes 276
have been found archeologically, and the *Caingua* still used them not (178)
long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingua* had their [711]
bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. [593]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated 178
all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful 527
hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. [711]
Their favorite beverage (kaguiĭ) was prepared mainly with maize but 176
also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was 273
activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingua* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[563] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[752] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[425] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[240] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[579] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[751] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they
give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

759 The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the
source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that
substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness,
where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening
their *ayvucué*, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly
Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[531] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[105] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[775] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[759] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by
sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
672 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[655] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[654] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft
is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practic-
ing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-*
Guarani mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions
of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
there was darkness, and the *Eternal Bats* fought in the night. Our Great
776 *Father* found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the
Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-
Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the *Añan*, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Paĭ* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The *Añan* demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single *Añan* who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1908, pp. 61-64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The *saracura* birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 521 775 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĭ* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936-37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the Guarani have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political revolution, by announcing the end of Spanish rule 665 786 178

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three Guaraní groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present reserves of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The posto from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

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633 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

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684 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. [481] Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes.... in which they make voyages lasting months.

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[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry at about 1905.

[19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these reserves and the S.P.I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S.P.I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, op. cit., p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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in order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe. . . ." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to reservas represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to reservas, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

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[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of making canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chicha*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden chicha vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [273]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically shun river-canoe routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may be [648]

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of
178 white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the
[648] supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the
animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of
today are those which do not interest the whites because they are
226 not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry,
178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism.
The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity
of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which,
although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important
role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary
to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even
then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the
journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two
[224] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as
[241] one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since
it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate
hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry
who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing
are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption
groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the
Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting
are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[34] No reason could be given by informants

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[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [34] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted 226
that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart 178
from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presum- 177
ably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting
and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only nega- 241
tive in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in 182
agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a
more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation 721
of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave 175
little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived
in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found 182
to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[23] basing his 721
statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other
tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[24] states that at the time of 175
his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a
little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared 722
to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might 182
betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

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[23] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.

[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is com- 177
monly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to 241
the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete*
appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. 412
Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague
traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials 182
for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neigh-
bors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubt-
less were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete per-
forms at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would
be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the 178
individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease
the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. 476
One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, 156
that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the [226]
part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progressively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualiza- 592
tion is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of
his day:[81] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single house- 156
hold for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 178
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[81] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
156 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
•178 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
476 like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic individualism,
that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[596] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
[594] worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry,
at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
156 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of
476 distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
435 be cheated by his *patrão* – at that point in the arrangement, at least.
464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

465 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga*[33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" – alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá – even the non-peon sometimes – to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

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[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite
but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly
recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther – and here there is certainly 177
adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman – a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão.*" But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient
frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional
payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution
of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
– and still today, in many respects – the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate
calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one
was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
182 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as
nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in
177 payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *rôça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
476 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the 476
principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon
also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only 177
in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself. 434

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only 121
of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of
their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some 177
of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the 178
economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.

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Chane SF8
Guarani SM4 ●

Ce /331 cont./

178 The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white
439 men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has
323 at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture
[177] considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other
Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases
G of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they
177 mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in
●178 the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering
342 several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes,
596 they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation
which corresponded to a particular social organization (the
large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we
G see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today,
C 177 intended to house only one family. In the same way one can
178 witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th
266 century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano.
Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface.
17 With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent
formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic
175 family.

C They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in
[167] the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

Guarani SM4 ●

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C. Gi 175 ● 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gi 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.